244 3. unfîndôle III: leaflesslike blotch, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil 249 is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metfâl," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvîm); the 257 resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae 278 (asâ), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "nfîgan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekôn).

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonandîm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tĭ.b miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The expert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okɔ̌ɔ̀gɔ̃n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atŭ̃ĭh), presumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

7. Fish poison (ngŭ̄m IV)

236 ●278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŏ̄d). Plate 9, find: a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭ̄m) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makŏ́ŏ́ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ́ŏ́), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undŏndŭ̄ or ŭndŏndŏ̄le a ndzĭ̄k).
4. Leaves of Duvernonia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiā̆ĭ'-nya-zĭ̄m IV) (1)

[207]

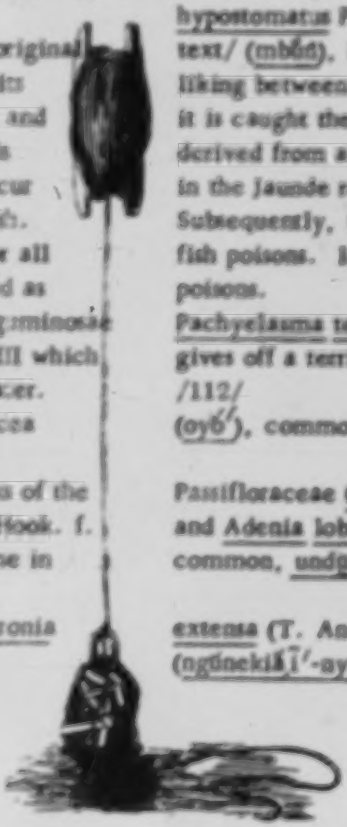

Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiā̆ĭ' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

226
•278 the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tʉ̄m IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olʉ̄ɨ), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (ɛgbwɛ̄' III, ɛsɨɛ̄'ɨ) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndɨ̄wɔ́ɔ́ III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wɔ́ɔ́, "to murder"; compare wɔ̄ɨe (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olɨ̄'m)

227

The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

441 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side: of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

441 824 The short arrows (ebɛ́). Figure 89 g, which are carried in attractive quivers (kɔ̄-ɲā IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 99 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndɔ̄́-mbə̄n IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndɔ̄-mbə̄n), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nə̌m e ndū) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nə̌m = man, that is, male ndɔ̄́ (mbaa).

can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enfɛ).

3. Care of the body.

515 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people,
559 cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

ot͡ʃ kɨ̀-mɨ́ʃ́	á	ə́ɨ́ɔ́ɔ́;	kɨ́		mvə̀ʌ́
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

á	bɨ́/ə́ə	ma,	ngɨ́ŋa	á	wɨ́ʃ́ən	e	madɨ́'m	á
it	was	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

kɨ̀	ma	anɨ̀
was	for me	just

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer
515 with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwɨ́'m Fang,
317 ogbwɨ́'mɛ̀ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.
314
575 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast num-
278 bers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the
824 women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oɣ̀ metɨ̀ɣ̀ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (ilɔ̀ɣ̀-ell'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

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(mfûm-e-ndûk IV) and the Simaroubacea Odyendea gabonensis (Pierre) Engl. (osûk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia vogelii H. f. (ndîwûlû III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (ekîng) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text./

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mîmegîmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvûs IV), those carved entirely out

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a [442] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 278 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is nŏ̄g̃, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nŏ̄g̃. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebă̄b e dĭ̄ŏ̄b, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭ̄ŭ̄) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŏ̄makŭ̄kŭ̄ŭ̄), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/); /146/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzŏ̄k IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akŭ̄ŭ̄n' elŏ̄esŏ̄', that is, leaves from the Sso, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (enŭ̄k), with whose symbolic significance

we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nlɨ̄ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ̄lɛ kɨ̄dɔ̄) (1):

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɨ̄ɨ̄ ɨ̄ɨ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (mīsā), ground,
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlɨ̄ contains:

1. ngō-akɔ̄k or ekɔ̄l-akɔ̄k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akɨ̄n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
3. nlɔ̄ho ngɔ̄dn, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlɨ̄ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɨ̄m tree (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɔ̄mɛ̄dxɨ̄ɨ̄). principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

754 278 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia [8:4] fastigiata Oliv. (esǎ'jĕme) and then place in it for five days the [4:1] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 674 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 757 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

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/147/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangí (Essandun Family), Ntum.

415
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Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mandúmu (Ojek Family).

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esắn elĭ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sĭ'sĭm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abŏ́'mĕdzăn), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžŭe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andŏlŏ'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozĕ'zŏge III, eloensŭ, "herb to counteract nsŭ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afŏnŏk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

754 A further use of nsŭ is called zō, from zŏ, "leopard," because the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏ'n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nsŭ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
778
1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sŏ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbo̤ane̤ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sö Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abo̤'mĕdzä'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eve̤), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (avo̤), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751 I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biä́n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biä́n akū'ma) are based in part on the

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atûm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-beyu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[769] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[152] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎ́m), Figure 63

757 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin
278 of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō′ Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angū́s Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojáń e ndžǐk); plantain peel (oyǐna ekōn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efífídi), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎ́n) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǒn adžǎ́b). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō′ō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ′) are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (eńgǎ́n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (oš̄ū́ū-elōk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otš̄ímažǒ́e′ III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

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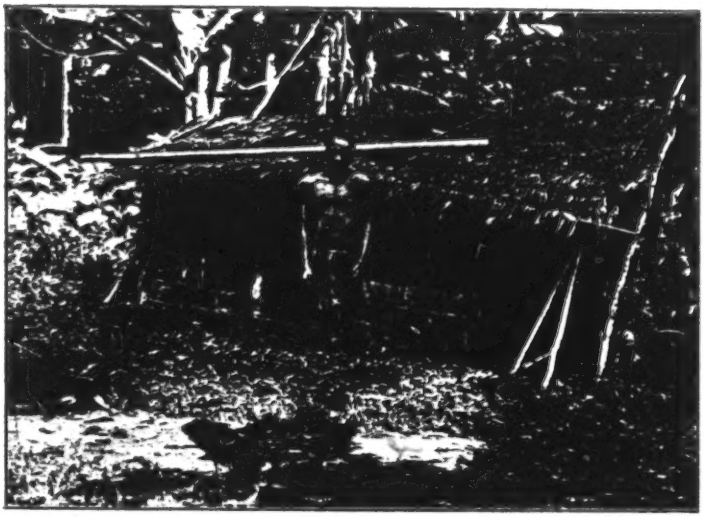

Fig. 63. Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzĭtsĭn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvŭ III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elŏbokŭi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̱i-žŭ̱m) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniŏ́ń), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebŏ́ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkŭ́n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofū̱mū) are ground and put on the wounds.

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̌n e
[824] ndžǐk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̌ɲ (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̌n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efífǐdí (Diospyros), from fǐ́di, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐ̌na ekǒ̌n (black plantains), from a yǐ̌n, "to become black"; hence, oš̆ǔ̌ɲ elǫ̌k (Phaulopsis) from nš̆ǔ̌t, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojǔ̌n, mbǎ̌n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. beyūɣ̌é a ndž̌īk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
218 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matūɣ̌ū mesǐn III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alṓs), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (eš̌ůlắ, from a šůlắn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njěm osṓk IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dž́íbe elṓk III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkắdena III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvǐm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abắn), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odž̌ū̌ę̄), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbắn-afắn I) dried, ground, and eaten.

751
278 Furthermore, the following are supposed to be able to cure the disease as well: the Meliacea Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyŏ), the Rubiacea (oyŏ'), the Rhamnacea Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkáńgă' I), and especially the Leguminosa Millettia tessmannii Harms (nié'kemakjī' I). /175/

Serious form of dysentery (tīɨ).

Aside from the symptoms of ordinary dysentery, this disease is distinguished by an unsightly swollen belly, and it frequently leads to death.

As a remedy, Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyŏ) is used. Pieces of bark are placed in a leaf vessel, hot water is poured over them, and the water is then used as an enema. Hot pieces of the bark are also pressed on the body. Furthermore, the bark of the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) is scraped off, mixed with red wood, heated on a potsherd over a fire, and then pressed to the belly. The following is also recommended: pieces of bark of Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. Stercubiacea (akăk), boiled and pressed while hot on the stomach; in addition pieces of bark of a species of Parkia (esĕ,n) and ground leaves of Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē'ī-sī) and Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayă, e sī), from which an extract is made in cold water and consumed, these last two plants being used because of their smell. Finally, pieces of the bark Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angŏkŏn) are boiled, and the lukewarm water used as an enema, or extracts are made with cold water from the bark of Anonidium mannii Oliv. (ebŏm) or from the leaves of Dichapetalum patentihirsutum Engl. (étă') and used as an enema (1).

1. For syphilis, only Trichilia tessmannii Harms (atŭm) is used. Pieces of the bark are boiled and placed with water in a leaf vessel, and the patient is made to crouch in it for a long time, or ashes of the bark are sprinkled on the area primarily affected.

Frambesia (mabā'da).

757 ●278 [164] Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the dangerous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žō ebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (beš obešō III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zĕlănă' mĭĕm), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭ n) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl. ?), awū'nūk, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyă mă ndžĭk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okū m-afă'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abŏnežŏk Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendūmejăń).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is supposed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

757
278 First the feet are beaten with the spiked Acanthus montanus T. Andl. (ndūí IV) until the blood pours from them; better still, the upper part of the foot is lacerated with a knife. Then both feet are covered with sand that is heated by several fires. If the pains become unendurable, the patient is allowed to cool his feet in cold water to which are added leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī Ntum) and bark of Macaranga heudelotii Baill. (asăs). The Alchornea is supposed to be "cold" and to have a cooling effect; the Macaranga is supposed to remove the sickness (a săs okŏn, "to shake off a sickness"). Then the feet are again put into the hot sand bath, and this procedure is carried out three times in succession. The treatment is repeated every other day until there is a cure.

Festering boils (fó, pfó).

The treatment resembles that for frambesia. Frequently the affected spots are washed with hot or at least warm water and afterwards with the milky sap of the Apocynaceae Olafia and Oncinotis. A few other medicines may be mentioned here.

1. Cissus smithiana (Bak.) Pl. (njă'mandūmănă III): the bark is scraped off just above the ground, placed in water, and then applied to the wound.

2. Costus (miĕn IV): after removal of the bark, the stalk is ground, then boiled, and pressed on the wound while still hot. After this, ground leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. are placed on the wound.

3. After the same preparatory treatment with Costus, leaves of the Asclepiadacea Periploca nigrescens Afz. (abăn e ndzīk) are placed on the wound. /177/

4. Pieces of the bark of Erythrophloeum guineense (elŭn) and Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsiń) are boiled, and the water is pressed on the spots; then the leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa Pl. (nsi'să III) are ground and laid on the wounds.

5. Trichoscypha (engŏń): a number of pieces of bark are boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water. Then pieces

of the bark are charred and sprinkled on the affected areas.

6. Trichoscypha (amvūt): just like 5; in the beginning, after the washing, bark of Conopharyngia brachyantha Stapf, Apocynacea (etūĕ), is scraped off and sprinkled on the spots.

7. Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (mabɔ̄ mogbwā III): leaves are ground, then boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water; then leaves of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avá e sī) are placed on the wounds.

8. Solenostemon leaves are ground and pressed out over the wound, together with the sap from the tuber of the Aframomum.

Furuncles (ekié, ekɔ̄, mvǐm IV).

A few medicines will be mentioned here.

1. Commelinacea Palisota preussiana K. Sch. (epfūpfū'ī): stalks are scraped off after the removal of the outer layer, and the shavings are tied on the boils.

2. Colocasia antiquorum (atū): the tuber is hollowed out by twirling a knife, and the contents are placed on the affected areas with the resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašĕ á).

3. A whole leaf of the Euphorbiaceae Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) is placed on the spot with the resin of Pachylobus, "so it will become small," because the Euphorbiaceae mentioned have small leaves in comparison to Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch. (mbă'n).

4. A whole leaf of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avă e sī, edŏdŏelŏ), together with resin, is placed on the spot, "because of the odor."

5. Ancistrocarpus densispinosus Oliv. (akă[k] a ndžīk): the bark is scraped off and placed on the spots together with red wood; "akă[k] a ndžīk is quiet (compare akăk, "peace linden") and has odor (?).

6. Gall fruit (plural, bebūma, "fruits") of the Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mvūvū' I) are charred and smeared on the wounds together with oil.

7. Cassava roots are scraped and tied to the affected area.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf. (nkɔ̄mbwɔ̌le III): leaves ground together with red wood and some water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwɔ̄le (buēle), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejɔ̌k): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etūĕ́): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū'kūt a mfɔ̌'nɔ̌k III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfɔ̌'nɔ̌k I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otūm): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéă), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkɔ́k I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etŭĕ́) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

757
278 (yiŏ́s IV), from Rinorea dentata (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacea (olúń), from Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels, Anonacea (amyim), or from Berlinia acuminata Sol., Leguminosa (epfə́bă). Instead of pure water, they frequently take sugar water, which first has been placed in the sun, with, for example, a root extract of Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet, Sterculiacea (okūń), or with the Araliacea Schefflera tessmannii Harms (abēokūī), with Garcinia purulata Oliv. (mekắ eli), or with Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (abē Ntum). Furthermore, leaves for example, from Polycephalium poggei Engl. (okŏ́ngūs), are cut up and eaten with spices (salt, pepper, melegueta) (1) in a ngon bundle, often together with the

1. Melegueta pepper always should be taken to mean Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. (andúń).

flesh of the spiny-finned sheatfish. The sharp or spiked things used are supposed to drive out the illness, hence, okŏ́ngūs, from okŏ́ń, "knife." More rarely, they use /179/ enemas, with preparations such as an extract from the head of a blossom from the Costus (explanation: "So that the 'body sap' -- this is how the discharge is conceived in this case -- will stick together in the body as do the blossoms of the Costus"), from Rinorea, or Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkáńgắ I). Furthermore, the skin over the pubes, where the seed arises, according to Pangwe opinion, is lacerated, and ashes of Cnestis ferruginea D.C., Connaracea (ntĕ́be sī́ I), are rubbed into the wounds, so that the discharge will "sit down" like the herb (a tĕ́bĕ́ o sī́, "to sit down").

Swelling in the groin (nkắắắ).

A procedure aimed at removing the malady entails making an incision in one toe on the side of the body affected and rubbing pepper and salt into the wound. Another prescription goes: leaves of Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch., Rubiacea (mbắń I) and Selaginella scandens (B. B.) Sprg. (zĕ́lắnắ), charred and then

757 278 placed on the areas together with oil. The affliction is supposed to miss (a sɛ̌lǎn) the person just as the leaves of the Selaginella "miss" their counterparts (the leaves, in other words, are alternate); mbǎ'n̂ from a bǎn̂, "to evade," that is, the disease is supposed to evade the person just as the tree has an evasive quality (meaning unclear). Furthermore, the disease is driven out by blows with the nettle-like inflorescences of the Urticaceae Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don (sǎ[s] -dzǎm IV) or Fleurya podocarpa Wedd (sǎ's IV). Finally, they also grind blossoms of Hippocratea myriantha Oliv. (mesī, ndzǐk I) and apply them with oil to the swelling.

Eczema, Krokro (ntzǎn̂ I).

Prescriptions. 1. Hosluntia verticillata Vahl (osaavō', asǒbenkūm): dip the shoots in hot water and rub them on the affected areas; then apply the ground leaves of the Cyathula achyranthoides (Kth.) Mog. (num e kǫ́lǭ't III) with oil. 2. Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayǎ e sī): wash the areas with a decoction; then apply the ground leaves of the Apocynaceae Doacanga or Rauwolfia with oil.

Furthermore, parts of the following plants are rubbed onto the areas together with oil: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom (elɔ̄ametsǎn̂ IV) (ground leaves), Rumex abessinicus Jacq (esǎ'n̂) (heated leaves), Fleurya aestuans (ngūkū'n IV) (heated leaves), Palisota thyrsiflora Bth., Commelinacea (ekǒkā delǎ'n̂) (charred leaves), Millettia drastica Welw. (onūmezǒk) (scraped-off bark), Gouania longipetala Hemsley, Rhamnacea (ngǒnǒ' a ndzǐk III) (scraped-off bark).

For scabies the natives frequently use raffia palm oil by itself or with the leaves of Hosluntia or of the Vitacea Ampelocissus cavicaulis /180/ (Bak.) Pl. (pfǎ'zǒk IV) or Aerua lanata (L.) Juss., Amarantacea (angɔ̄ngɔ̄nǒ III). Also, hoops of Cissus or Lepistemon stalks are slung around the foot.

For herpetic eruptions on the head (akɔ̌), which for the most part, it is true, are ignored and occur with special frequency among children, tobacco leaves are rubbed on the shaved head, or the head

757 is powdered by making the sole of one's foot quite dusty and then
274 pressing it on the head of the patient.

More widespread is a herpetic eruption of the skin (tɔ̄n, matɔ̄n) with bright spots that must not be confused with leprosy. As remedies the following plants are known to me: Capsicum leaves are ground and placed on the areas affected; the leaves of Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dzíbě elɔ̄'k III) are heated and placed on the areas, and a leaf extract is used as an enema (the plant is dark, and the skin is supposed to become dark again); Asclepiadacea Marsdenia lādifolia (Bth.) Schltr. (abɔdeambě III), the leaves ground and put on the areas together with oil (the plants "blacken"); Clerodendron buettneri Gürke (mavūlū elɔ̄'k III), because of its hairs.

A less important skin disease, a kind of Krokro which especially attacks the feet and is called ašū,lū́k, appears chiefly during the rainy season. Heated shoots of Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (esáń) and Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebū́do esáń), which are pressed on the diseased areas, are used for it, or leaves of Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nnăt I) are added to a foot bath.

Epilepsy (okū,bū́k).

According to one view, epilepsy is caused by the fact that along with his food a person has accidentally got a cicada (ngămtětě'a IV) into his stomach. According to the dominant opinion, however, it is caused by the fact that one has looked too long into the sun. Medicines for it are the Apocynaceae Rauwolfia and Doacanga, whose leaves are ground and boiled, and used as an enema when they have cooled; furthermore, from Cola ricinifolia Engl. et Krause (alɔ̌n), one root is stuck into the hair, another is scraped and steeped in water, the water then being drunk, and the other roots are put under the bed. The Cola is supposed to be "cold." During an attack, ground leaves of Cissus aralioides (Welw.) Pl. (aŋgɔ̄'nengí) are put in water, and this is poured over the afflicted person. The Cissus causes itching and brings the patient back to consciousness.

757
278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elʉ̄n) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esʊ̄ mʊ̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ́ nnɛ̌m "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžʊ̄'le) is drunk; for mental [829] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okŏn nnɛ̌m), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sʊ̌); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ́ and nnǎ́-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ́-abʉ̌m); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažʉ́'m).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži̇̌ a ndži̇̌k III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efʉ̄ŏ'le, dži̇̌ III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsi̇́'s ā̌ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ́), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atʉ̄[k] e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dɛ̄mezŏ̄ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etʉ̄e' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏkʉ̄nŏ̄ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašô), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atŏ̄t e nkô), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okŏ'jô̄m) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē, á), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (nín) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūvū' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboisopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edžíb, from džíb, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avǒm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē sí) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbóšó' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebǔ'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

752 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
136 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē' IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (exíndi nyǒ', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okūm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (yiǒt IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'dō-nšū t III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'dō-fám III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwū án I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nnián I, that is, one who shall live).

752 In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
278 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details. In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbǒanē' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ, e sí) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū ') -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 [826] If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124] 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,	dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing, (namely,)	the	smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfú) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǫ̀k IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kɔ̄ ́mesʉ̌m IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsʉ̌ń I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abɔ̌ ́medzǎ ́ń).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
278 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avūm) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzí a ndzík III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (alūmá).

[579] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbómõnezám I) mixed with snake water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myõ' IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzí) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jatrorrhiza strigosa Miers (ndzí'kengū́i I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (okū́n e zó́k) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thom. et Schum. (otūgélé III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (otūgélé-etó́k); and Adenia staudtii Harms (edódõ ndzík III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (okó'kúno III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (olé'ne amyūt), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzítsin).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (tõntõnebõ III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (nsósó'k I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (mbū'ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with
[283] firmly tied raffia leafstalk strips.

For tumors (etūt) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclostemon tessmannianus Pax (betūte elí' III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

752 278 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

262 784 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call bekī (from ekī). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī-bondŭ'măn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī abŭm = 262 784 843 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at the time of pregnancy, or ekī mŏn = taboo because of the child, that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

821 775 As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/, lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later, however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yŏ'yŏs IV Fang or fŏ'levŏs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fŏ'levŏs a yŏ's or fŏ'levŏs a lŭd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yŏs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zăń IV Ntum, zăn'lăń IV Fang, or zē'yăń IV. The fŏlevŏs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zăń is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngā a kŏbo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zē'yăń a kŏbo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

[195] Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī' zē'yăń) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

832
824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndžik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (ošim e ntăngăn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abĕ).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otŭm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (să[s] ndžĭk).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ejŭn e ndžĭk), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asăm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fam = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elo[k] a ton), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832
825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

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278 The medicines for impotence (biăń a jê or biăń ejê) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭ́n e ngūī̀, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfắ I, mfằn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭ́m, supposedly from a jŭ́me nkŭ́n, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭ́m is the same as in nnŭ́m, plural bojŭ́m = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭ́m for (e) the man; majŭ́m, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bíằn ejē̂, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūí'n) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink." It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abŭm, a kū'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adžă,b, kernel = ngŏ,n-ebŏn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

847 oyŏ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbŭmyĕ'i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkăngă' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

844 When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osōn, "shame"; some even said nsŏ'm, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osōn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who flock to the woman in childbed to encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

[278] Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejăzŭ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngūkŭ'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

845 The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities, the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal
[164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̄'ɛ̄, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out
844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngɔ̌'b IV, not to be confused with ngɔ̄b IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dɔ̌b, plural mɔ̌b) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edɔ̌dɔ̌b = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akɔ̄'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum
● [278] gratissimum L. (asɔ̌'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house.
851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child.
853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in
000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

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1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14 percent	Household articles	1.9 percent
Textiles	17.4 -	Equipment	7.7 -
Bride price	13 -	Taxes	8.5 -
Housing and furniture	7.5 -	Medicaments	1.3 -
Bedding	1.5 -	Education	0.9 -
Lighting and upkeep	3 -	Gifts and miscellaneous	6 -
Trips	2 -		

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Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and working in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit. salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyèbe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alɛ́wanɛ́ to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

694 672 619 682 A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since members of the tribe stick together, another man will be seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

695 682 Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes one of the following tests:

The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

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1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne aydn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
781 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éñn̂ tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaï; (1) the roots of the

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> 1. Strychnos onaï: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

> 2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngâñ, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
781 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

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for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

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Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
● [278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

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" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."